The House That Peace Built

WHEN, on that morning of November, the pregnant instant of silence announced hostilities had ceased, the world drew a long breath. It was a moment of optimism; war, in spite of the distance, had come close to Americans, had engulfed many of its best and bravest; had riven the ranks of society into rival camps; had strained the nerves of humanity to the snapping point; had driven us, ever faster and madder, toward a goal which loomed blood-red wherever it was reached.

The paper was signed; guns ceased; men camped in their tracks; slowly the cloud of smoke that had floated for four years over those fields night and day drifted away toward the east and no new vapors pursued it. The aircraft drifted down; the warships lolled in the trough of the North Sea. It was, in the mind of a weary world, peace; one of the sublime moments of history.

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One year. Twelve months in which the world could take stock of the calamity and dress its wounds, assay its position and estimate its damages. One year of irreclaimable time, during which the single purpose of the war has given away to the jealousies of peace, and the one camp of the Allies has become a score of camps, each with its own interests.

The historical chronicle is simple. At the armistice or on its eve, the thrones of the German Empire, the Dual Monarchy, of Bulgaria collapsed; the triumvirate, William, Charles and Ferdinand were fugitives. Almost overnight the structure caved in and deposited those three among the debris. Normally, the least of them would have excited the world's interest. So accustomed had we become to stupendous events, it hardly stirred our pulse. Yet the dissolution of the ancient Hapsburg dominion did stir men everywhere as a mighty portent, and the flight of the Hohenzollern monarch, bringing to an inglorious wreck a marvelous dream and a great nation, left a deep impress on every mind.

History wrote fast those days.

The armistice concluded with Germany, with Austria-Hungary, and with the lesser allies of the Central Powers, the world faced itself toward the situation, and realized, with grim foreboding, the mighty task before it. In truth, it looked to many as if the task of peace would dwarf the task of war; as it does. The war was only the preliminary; the aftermath has been and is today of far greater importance. More vital history has been made in the past year than in all the 50 months of warfare. If the world was paralyzed during the war itself by the kaleidoscopic changes, it is now bewildered by the great forces it has released by its works of peace, all of them rushing headlong to their destiny, engulfing the past in their course.

All the voices, repressed during the crisis of actual hostilities, pent-up by the exigencies of actual wartime, yielded to their emotions until the heavens echoed with the clamor. The Allies must demand this; Germany must be forced to do that; America must stand fast on this; France must yield that; Italy will demand this; Greece has been promised that; Turkey must be dealt with thus; Asia Minor must be treated so. Back and forth went the tumult, rising and ever rising in volume and intensity, the while the nations, hysterical with the reaction from the strain of war, tried to stiffen themselves for the task at the Peace Conference.

Gradually the delegates got appointed, slowly the machinery began to revolve; bit by bit out of the chaos individual demands began to formulate themselves, and as these became clear, men looked grave and troubled. Italy produced her secret treaty; France hers; Japan hers. Other documents and "understandings" were hinted at.

From the Balkans came a chorus of voices; old nations clamored and new nations lifted insistent voices; boundaries changed overnight; leaders vanished and new men came to office.

Within the old German Empire chaos was replacing the old federation; first Maximilian the Chancellor went, and with him most of the old corps of diplomats; gradually from the body of that betrayed people came the harness-maker, Frederick Ebert and, on a tide of moderate Socialism, navigated the troubled seas. States broke away; Bavaria gave itself up to a Communist experiment, which was to end with the assassination of its leader, Kurt Eisner. Princes and petty monarchs vanished in all directions and governments went through all the phases of a democratizing period, generally finding bottom on some Socialist theory.

Austria-Hungary merely dissolved into its component parts; the Magyars of Hungary re-claimed their ancient independence; to the north the Czechs, Bohemians and Slovaks gathered themselves together as Czecho-Slovakia. To the south the Slovenes and their kin became Jugo-Slavia, later to absorb Montenegro and ally themselves with Serbia. German Austria was left, a pitiful remnant, to battle its way through isolation to a precarious future.

Hungary, lacking leaders, caught the fire of neighboring Russia, and turned Soviet, when Bela Kun and his associates seized their brief opportunity. They, too, passed along after some months of rule.

While these events were in their beginning, casting long shadows over all of Europe; and while distant peoples, such as the Koreans, the Armenians and others were struggling to voice their claims to release from oppression, the world turned doggedly toward Paris and its task of stabilizing the high-strung civilization, teetering in the balance between bare safety and utter wreckage.

By the time the delegates representing the Allied and Associated Powers actually assembled in Paris, Europe and much of Asia was in a fluid condition, and none could determine accurately what would happen. Not only were the Central Powers in a state of internal collapse but all the other powers, great and small, found themselves in the grip of social or political upheavals. What was represented in Russia by Bolshevik and anti-Bolshevik warfare was represented in the Balkans by Serb against Greek, and Bulgar against Roumanian, and Italian against Jugo-Slav. Finland to the north indulged in a hot political strife, in the course of which parties ceased to be identified with causes and became more the weapons of individual leaders. Italy saw a crisis over the annexationist plans launched by Baron Sonnino, foreign minister, and still faces an even greater emergency of lack of food and fuel.

France had to face the aftermath of its political scandals, its industrial bankruptcy and the impoverished health of its population. Britain had to meet the greatest social upheaval of its history, and even now is adrift in the backwash of those events. Japan suddenly discovered the Socialist movement stalking through its workshops and armies. Portugal was suddenly under the shadow of syndicalism. In Spain, prosperous neutral, the strong Republican movement cornered the government and, fearful of pushing its cause to immature fruition, has dominated the political scene; against the Republicans, the aristocrats and conservatives today do wage war.

Greece seized her coveted foothold in Greek-populated portions of Asia Minor; Italy strengthened her outposts in the same quarter. The Turks, emboldened by the evident hesitation on the part of the Allies, marched troops through Armenian centers, reverting to their accustomed methods of savage repression. The Kurds swept down and added their savagery.

In Africa Raisuli, having absorbed much Spanish gold, put his thumb to his nose and declared war on his benefactor. The Moroccan dispute between France and Spain, complicated by Raisuli, took on new life. Farther south a native Labor movement swept the Rand, and the Nationalist movement against the British Union of South Africa sent its delegation of protest to Paris.

India caught the fever of unrest and Nationalist movements broke into flame there; simultaneously the Afghans, their king assassinated by intrigue, found their new monarch anti-British, and under his leadership began war on the British and attacked India. Britain waged a costly, unsatisfactory war of repression. Egypt saw troops and civilians killed in Nationalist riots, inspired by fanatics and Turkish agents.

Australia gave itself to sporadic outbreaks, one minister being stoned, and in another territory the officers of government being forced to fly for their lives.

On the Polish-German-Russian frontiers a nest of wars ensued, with Ukrainians fighting first against the Bolsheviki, then for the Bolsheviki, and at last split on the both sides, with Poles fighting Germans and Ukrainians, with Bessarabians fighting Roumanians, Poles and Russians, with Letts, Esthonians, Ruthenians and all the other tribesmen of the Baltic on the warpath, each against two and sometimes three foes. First the battle-line would face Russian Bolshevism, then in a turn of the news it would be against each other.

China in the Orient gave itself to resentment of Japanese methods, and riots ensued. Korea rose against Japanese oppression, and repression with bloodshed followed.

Round the world the tide of conflict and angry dispute raged; and this was the first year of peace.

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Melting down the rhetorical extravagance with which the representatives and spokesmen of the several interested powers enwrapped their motives, the demands of the chief Allies were as follows:

The United States, the only purely altruistic nation at the board, wanted a safeguard against future catalysms, as far as was humanly possible, and an interpretation of President Wilson's Fourteen Points, with especial reference to the liberties of small peoples. She asked no territory and no indemnity.

Great Britain asked a cash indemnity, a share of the surrendered German fleet, German Southwest Africa and German East Africa, a definite sphere of control in that part of Asia Minor liberated from Turkey, and a friendly say-so in the future of Persia. For Australia she desired some of the German island possessions in the Pacific. All of these practically she got, although the division of Asia Minor is still kept obscure, and the whole treatment of the Turkish problem is veiled in diplomatic vagueness.

France wanted first Alsace and Lorraine, then the Saar Basin, and, if possible, the Rhine as her frontier. Also she wanted the Kamerun and other land in Africa, a mandate for Syria, including possibly Arabia; she wanted a large cash indemnity and a share in the German fleet. She got important rights in the Saar Basin, was denied the new Rhine frontier and is uncertain about her share in Asia Minor, but otherwise obtained her demands.

Italy wanted the mountains of the Balkan mainland, known as the Dalmatian coast, for her frontier, thus making the Adriatic Sea an Italian lake. She wanted Italy Irredenta, or Italian-inhabited country round as far as Trieste, restored to her from Austria. She wanted concessions in Asia Minor, continued ownership of the Greek Dodecanese Islands and a share in the indemnity, together with German ships. She obtained almost all she asked, except for Fiume and some of the Dalmatian coast, and what she didn't get has since been seized for her by Gabriele D'Annunzio.

Japan wanted holdings in the Shantung Peninsula in China, and got them. She wanted recognition of her especial position with reference to the rest of the Orient, and got it. She wanted the northern groups of former German islands in the Pacific, and got them (except the island of Yap).

Greece wanted her old territory restored, which meant taking Montenegrin territory. Serbia wished and has begun to absorb Montenegro. Roumania asks for Bessarabia, which hates the Roumanians and all their works. Bulgaria asked for territory she lost in the Second Balkan War.

Armenia, Arabia, Lebanon and also Syria proper, Bessarabia, Finland, Esthonia, Ruthenia, Ukrainia, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia and Magyar Hungary asked recognition as independent peoples and where their ambitions did not conflict with the purpose of the major powers they got it.

Premier Lloyd George later described this mammoth discussion at the Conference as being conducted while wild men screamed through the keyhole, and the illustration was apt, for every creed, dogma, belief, theory, interest, class and point of view had its chosen and self-elected representatives on hand, adding to the tumult. And for every voice upraised in Paris, a million more far distant from Paris joined issue.

DURING the course of the Conference several secret treaties were bared, and especially the one between Japan and the European Allies, respecting Japan's price, and the one between Italy and her Allies, respecting her price, and between the several European Allies with reference to their price in Asia Minor.

These treaties had the effect of nullifying all effort to sustain the American ideals of world justice, and resulted in the great popular outcry against secret diplomacy.

The Treaty at last was formulated, after delay on delay, and disappointment on disappointment and, while general opinion declared it to be a severe treaty, the world took hope from President Wilson's clear victory in obtaining the incorporation, with the treaty itself, of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Since that day Great Britain, Japan and Italy have practically ratified, France has taken all preliminary steps. The United States Senate, after the American people had made known their clear instructions, prepared to ratify also.

China refused to sign the original treaty with Germany, owing to her resentment at the Shantung award to Japan, but concluded a separate peace with Germany.

Turning from the actual business of those momentous twelve months, the world finds itself confronted with graver problems than ever faced it during the war; not only has it to put into effect the Treaty terms themselves insofar as they apply to the late enemy powers—a heavy job in itself—but they have to effect their own reconstruction, a task which every thinking person admits requires the sternest courage and utmost sanity.

People are tired, nervous, harassed by the high cost of living, unsettled by the abnormal days through which they have lived; into their midst is flowing back from the armies a stream of millions of men, who must take up again civilian duties. New ideas have taken root in society, or rather old ideas have blossomed again; the conception of liberty which was voiced as the goal of war has become a program for individual and collective justice, which shows itself in world-wide movements devoted to the reconstruction of the economic life. These movements are pregnant with mighty possibilities of change.

All must be faced if the world is to be kept at peace within and without; a dozen minor wars remain to be settled; a score of nations still fester with angry wounds, unhealed by the Treaty.

This, at the end of one year of peace, is a frank statement of the situation, which carries such a dire threat of colossal disaster. The only steadying power in sight is the League of Nations. The first year of peace has seen it born. The second year, if justice rules, will see it working its way through the world's troubles.

With its success lies the future.

The Manchester Guardian in U. S.

THE Manchester Guardian, published at Manchester, England, is beginning a campaign for readers in America. That paper probably made a greater advance during the war than any other paper in the world. To many newspapermen, it now stands out as the foremost English paper, having supplanted The London Times in the estimation of a great many.

So thoroughly and carefully did The Manchester Guardian handle the war news; so complete an understanding did it have as to conditions at all times that its views were sought by men the world over generally and its columns were quoted everywhere.

With the war of the armies ended, that paper is now taking up the problems of peace in the same manner in which it handled the problems of war. It is getting out a weekly edition, and men who want to keep in touch with the best English thought could not do better than to subscribe for that paper. The paper is authorative and independent, serving no faction, creed or clique, its columns always serving the reading public.

The paper has opened an American office at 220 West 42d Street, New York.

Unless adequate measures are adopted, the woodlands of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, eventually will be practically exhausted, officials of the Forest Service of the Department of Agriculture told a Tri-State Forestry Conference at Indianapolis. The states are urged to join in a national program of forest conservation that is being formulated to meet the needs and conditions in every section of the country.